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David A. Phillips  
C/WH/TFR

2 October 1970

FILE SECRETARIAT DISSEMINATION

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FILE NO.

Approved for Release  
July 2000

(classification)

(date and time filed)

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(pics)

2 Oct 70

CITE DIRECTOR

① REQUEST [REDACTED] PASS FOLLOWING SITUATION REPORT TO [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] SUGGEST [REDACTED] "AS MATTER OF  
PERSONAL CURIOSITY," ON HOW [REDACTED] COULD CONTRIBUTE, IF AT  
ALL, TO FOMENTING ANY ECONOMIC CRISIS IN CHILE. ADVISE.

"PRESIDENT FREI ORIGINALLY ENCOURAGED THE MANEUVER TO  
LINE UP PDC VOTES FOR ALESSANDRI, WHOSE STATEMENT REGARDING  
HIS RESIGNATION IF ELECTED WAS COORDINATED IN ADVANCE BY FREI.  
BUT FREI NO LONGER CONTROLS HIS PARTY'S CONGRESSIONAL VOTES.  
ONE REASON FOR THIS LACK OF CONTROL, IN ADDITION TO THE NEGLECT  
AND INDECISION OF FREI HIMSELF, IS THE ANIMOSITY OF BERNARDO  
LEIGHTON, ONCE A CLOSE COLLABORATOR OF FREI AND CERTAINLY  
NOT A MARXIST, WHO HARBORS A GRUDGE AGAINST FREI FOR HAVING

....CONTINUED.. [REDACTED]

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CITE DIRECTOR

IGNOMINIOUSLY REMOVED HIM FROM HIS POST AS MINISTER OF INTERIOR TWO YEARS AGO. ALLENDE NEEDS ONLY 21 PDC VOTES TO WIN, AND LEIGHTON, WHO AS PDC VICE PRESIDENT CONTROLS AT LEAST THAT NUMBER, HAS WARNED FREI THAT HE INTENDS TO DELIVER THEM TO ALLENDE. MOREOVER, THE LARGE LEFT-WING FACTION OF THE PDC, LED BY RADOMIRO TOMIC, HAS ALREADY DECLARED FOR ALLENDE.

ON 23 SEPTEMBER A DELEGATION FROM THE PDC MET WITH ALLENDE TO PRESENT THE PDC'S LIST OF 'GUARANTEES' WHICH, IF MET, WOULD INDUCE THE PDC TO CAST THE VOTES OF ALL 75 OF ITS PARLIAMENTARY MEMBERS FOR ALLENDE. AT THE REQUEST OF THE PDC, ALLENDE WAS UNACCOMPANIED. THE 'GUARANTEES' WERE PUBLISHED IN THE SANTIAGO PRESS ON 24 SEPTEMBER. THE PDC NEGOTIATING COMMITTEE ALSO REQUESTED THREE OTHER GUARANTEES TO WHICH ALLENDE AGREED ON CONDITION THAT THEY BE KEPT SECRET. THEY ARE:

A. THAT GENERAL HUERTA, DIRECTOR OF THE CARABINEROS AND THE THREE COMMANDERS OF THE MILITARY SERVICES BE RETAINED AT LEAST UNTIL APRIL 1971.

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CITE DIRECTOR

B. THAT THE PDC BE CONSULTED IN THE APPOINTMENTS OF  
THE MINISTERS OF DEFENSE AND INTERIOR; AND

C. THAT THE POPULAR UNITY (UP) PROVIDE THE PDC CON-  
DITIONS WITH LEGAL VALIDITY.

COMMUNIST LEADERS ARE NOT CONCERNED ABOUT MAKING GUARANTEES,  
BUT THEY DO WANT AS BIG A MARGIN AS POSSIBLE IN THE CONGRESSIONAL  
VOTE IN ORDER TO PROPAGANDIZE OUTSIDE CHILE THAT ALLENDE HAS  
THE SUPPORT OF THE WHOLE COUNTRY AND THAT THERE IS VIRTUALLY  
NO OPPOSITION TO HIS GOVERNMENT WHICH WON ONLY 36% OF THE VOTE.

MEANWHILE, ALLENDE IS ALREADY BEHAVING LIKE THE PRESIDENT-  
ELECT, AND IN TRYING TO LULL WIDESPREAD FEARS GENERATED BY  
THE COMMUNISTS IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE POPULAR ELECTION WHEN,  
USING THE TACTICS EMPLOYED BY THE SOVIETS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN  
1948, THE PCCH MOVED QUICKLY TO GAIN CONTROL OF KEY CHILEAN  
MEDIA ORGANS.

PRESIDENT FREI HAS TOLD MILITARY LEADERS THAT HE NOW

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CONSIDERS THAT PARLIAMENTARY ACTION TO DEFEAT ALLENDE IS IMPOSSIBLE, BLAMING HIS LOSS OF CONTROL OF THE PDC ON RADOMIRO TOMIC AND BERNARDO LEIGHTON, WHO HE SAYS, ARE DETERMINED TO REACH AN AGREEMENT WITH THE UNIDAD POPULAR. FREI HAS ALSO HINTED THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO HAVE THE MILITARY TAKE SOME ACTION WHICH WOULD PREVENT HIS GOING DOWN IN HISTORY AS THE MAN WHO DELIVERED CHILE TO THE COMMUNISTS. FREI HAS LAMENTED THAT CHILE WILL SOON BECOME ANOTHER CUBA. BUT HE HAS NEITHER TAKEN ANY ACTION NOR REQUESTED HIS MILITARY CHIEFS TO DO SO. HE IS WAITING FOR THE MILITARY TO DEPOSE HIM. HOWEVER, THE CONSTITUTIONALIST-MINDED CHILEAN MILITARY ARE WAITING FOR FREI TO GIVE THEM INSTRUCTIONS TO STAGE A COUP. THUS, THEY ARE IN A STALEMATE.

2. AS OF 2 OCTOBER THERE APPEAR TO BE ONLY TWO CONDITIONS WHICH COULD CONCEIVABLY DENY THE PRESIDENCY TO ALLENDE:

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A. AN ECONOMIC CRISIS WHICH WOULD SERVE AS A PRETEXT  
FOR A MILITARY TAKEOVER.

B. A CONSENSUS WITHIN THE PDC AS A RESULT OF ALLENDE'S  
REFUSAL TO REPLY TO THE GUARANTEES REQUESTED BY THE PDC.  
THIS COULD CONCEIVABLY -- THE HOPE IS SLIGHT -- LEAD TO A  
POLITICAL SOLUTION, AS PREVIOUSLY PLANNED.

THUS, IT IS ALMOST CERTAIN, UNLESS FREI DEMONSTRATES  
SOME UNUSUAL LEADERSHIP WHICH HE HAS NOT INDICATED HE IS  
CAPABLE OF TO THIS DATE, OR THAT THERE IS AN ECONOMIC CRISIS  
BEFORE 24 OCTOBER, THAT ALLENDE WILL BE THE PRESIDENT OF  
CHILE ON 4 NOVEMBER. THE IMPLICATIONS FOR CHILE, FOR THE  
ANDEAN COMMON MARKET, AND FOR LATIN AMERICA ARE CLEAR.  
THE TERRORIST INTELLECTUAL LEADER, SENATOR CARLOS ALTA-  
MIRANO, FOR EXAMPLE, HAS ALREADY ISSUED INSTRUCTIONS TO HIS  
MIR ACTIVISTS [REDACTED] TO PREPARE TO MOVE

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CITE DIRECTOR

TO OTHER COUNTRIES IN LATIN AMERICA BECAUSE THEIR JOB IS DONE  
IN CHILE."

END OF MESSAGE

WILLIAM V. BROE  
C/WH/D

DAVID A. PHILLIPS  
C/WH/ TFR

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